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# **West Europe Report**

No. 1771

**TURKEY: PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE NATIONAL ACTION PARTY**

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**TURKEY: PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE NATIONALIST ACTION PARTY**

**Turkes Charged With Two Murders**

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 9 May 81 pp 1, 15

[Text] Ankara (HURRIYET) -- The NAP [Nationalist Action Party] indictment prepared by the Ankara Martial Law Command Office of the Military Prosecutor charges NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes with personally ordering the deaths of former DISK [Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions] President Kemal Turkler and Adana Security Director Cevat Yurdakul.

In the "Actions and Defendant Relationships" section of the 945-page NAP indictment, the actions which Turkes is alleged to have ordered carried out are described as follows:

"Alpaslan Turkes, joining the political party in order to seize power, rose to the position of General Chairman and, while conducting legally and constitutionally information, propaganda and vote-getting procedures on the one hand, on the other, intended to seize the administration and bring about the state order along the lines of his thoughts pointed out above and, with the organization established for this purpose, set the Turkish people at loggerheads. To do this, he proceeded to set up NAP Youth Chapters, Idealist associations, Idealist professional organizations, and a centralized, authoritarian organization drawn in echelon from top to bottom among citizens in certain precincts, schools and dormitories.

"Persons in the organization were brought together by beautiful and sacred concepts and were trained to be people who would not thenceforth leave the chain of command, who endured the pressure and anxiety of knowing that their lives would be in danger if they left, or to use their own term, betrayed the cause, and who performed every task given them.

"The financial resources necessary for this organization were obtained from individuals and organizations at home and abroad and from funds collected both by solicitation and under moral duress by companies and businesses specially set up for the purpose. That portion of the money adequate for the various echelons of the organization were released to them by approval of Headquarters, and all of the remainder was vested in Alpaslan Turkes. Alpaslan Turkes personally made all clandestine expenditures within the organization, directing them through private notes and payments not legally recorded.

"The human element which outwardly was trained in ideas called the 'Nine Lights,' but inwardly was conditioned with single-minded training was equipped with extensive financial resources, arms, ammunition and supplies and equipment. Certain persons who had been conditioned against everyone holding views different from their own pushed the Idealists, who saw everyone in separate groups such as communist or Alevi, into incidents of violence amounting to mass murder in pursuit of the professed goal. In July 1980 when Alpaslan Turkes was at Yakacik Villa for this purpose, Yilma Durak and Celal Adan visited him on this date. During the conversation, Alpaslan Turkes said that the Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions (DISK) was the source of the communist movement and, while concluding the conversation and getting up, swung his hand in a horizontal motion as though reaping grass and gave the order that DISK administrators should be disposed of. DISK President Kemal Turkler was killed in front of his home in Merter Complex on 22 July 1980.

"Also, when rumors spread to the NAP Provincial Organization that Adana Security Director Cevat Yurdakul was "pressuring Idealists and their families in Adana," the situation became exaggerated, was conveyed to Alpaslan Turkes by Ankara Trainer Mehmet Sakarya, who forwarded Alpaslan Turkes' order that Cemal Yurdakul should be killed to Hasan Sabri Erdem upon his return to Adana.

"The reality of the order was that Adana Security Director Cevat Yurdakul was ambushed and killed very near his home on 29 September 1979.

"It has been determined that Alpaslan Turkes established this organization down to the smallest unit as has been explained extensively, that, by holding individuals subject to separation, he trained the sector called 'Idealist' in a way which would be considered single-minded, that he provided financial support and the necessary arms and ammunition, ways and means, that he caused by way of giving orders troop formations at the dormitory level and that, by proving in this way his claim that the existing order was inadequate, he attempted to change by force the Constitutional Order with the goal of having the state directed by one single person in violation of Republicanism and Democracy, and the principle on which it stands."

The indictment then lists the charges for which the death penalty is requested against Agah Oktay Guner, Sadi Somuncuoglu, Ahmet Er, Necati Gultekin, Yasar Okuyan, Nevzat Kosoglu, Ali Gurbaz, Omer Cakiroglu, Mehmet Irmak, Tahsin Unal, Avni Carsancakli, Taha Akyol, Mehmet Dogan, Anmet Hamdi Ayan and Yasin Cengiz Gokcek.

#### Top of Pyramid

The indictment notes that within the NAP's centralized system, the party and its affiliates, the Idealist associations, were tied directly to Alpaslan Turkes as the head of the pyramid. It then states:

"It was impossible within the party not only to oppose, but even to criticize Turkes, who was the single effective and dominant authority. Despite this, it is unfair to suppose that the members of the NAP or the Idealist associations or even everyone on the Party Executive Board was party to this cabal. There are also individuals who, because they tried to expose themselves to outside influences, honestly cherished in good faith true national values and defended these values in the party or associations.

"Those things from which no concession was given and which were not criticized from the standpoint of the cabal, which in fact pursued and implemented the reactionary, separatist and ruthless methods behind this screen of a political party, were virtually taboo, and these were the leader, the doctrine and the organization. Much written matter and many documents clearly reveal that the leader was Alpaslan Turkes, that the doctrine was the theory of the 'Nine Lights' and that the organization included the NAP and all Idealist associations. Idealism was a mask for the individuals of this circle, and these endeavors and relationships became in fact a profession for certain people. Striving to surmount the feeling of distrust for each other and create among everyone the image of being the most trustworthy person within the organization, Turkes succeeded within this climate in holding the reins by promoting his organizational ability and authority as his talent by birth and was a total dictator within the organization, or again in his own terminology, the 'commander-in-chief.' Turkes has all power of disposal over all material assets of the party in such a way as to indicate no need for the approval and decision-making of the board or anyone else and uses all of it in furthering his own ideas. Freedom of thought is impossible, and as their basis for action is the robot principle, not just any interorganization opposition, but even the thought of it is impossible."

#### Arming, Organization of NAP Examined

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 10 May 81 pp 1, 5

[Text] How Was Arming Accomplished

Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- The section of the NAP indictment concerned with arming states the following, in summary:

"It is seen that, in addition to the organizing and staffing efforts at home and abroad of the Idealist elements, they began as of 1968 to obtain arms in an intensive and systematic way and there was an increase over time in the pace, scope, quality and quantity of the arming efforts and exertions which they initiated on the pretext and propaganda of protection against the attacks of the extreme left.

"It has been determined that the arming activities of members of the Idealist group which they initiated with chains, clubs and sharp and dangerous devices turned to the rapid acquisition of guns in the 1975-1976 period, that this period ended with the acquisition of large caliber, multi-shell pistols and that arming later extended to dynamite, grenades and automatic pistols.

"In searches conducted since 1978 of NAP provincial and district buildings throughout the country and especially in Ankara and Istanbul, large numbers of automatic weapons, spare pistol barrels, gelignite, ammunition and materials used in making explosive devices were found and large quantities of weapons were seized at the NAP Headquarters building after 12 September, matters which may be considered as cause of our contention."

How Did Organizing Proceed

Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- The NAP indictment lists the associations designated as "Idealist" and contains the view that these had "undertaken a planned organization since 1973 and organizational efforts were promoted by means of various principal and local associations which they formed outside the party organization."

The indictment points out that a total of 654 associations was formed and began activities in a short period of time and states the following:

"It is certain that Idealist elements showed extreme and excessive zeal in efforts they conducted illegally to gather information on groups which they characterized as the opposition and described as 'communist.' It is understood from seized documents that they conducted these activities by means of a special intelligence organization formed within the general organization, that the task of staffing the sensitive organizations was assigned to the Ideal Way Association [IWA] headquartered in Nevsehir and that they infiltrated illegal leftist organizations to obtain information."

The NAP indictment points out that the "Enlightenment Club" changed its name to "Enlightenment Hearth" and resumed its activities to disseminate its thought and views and contains the following section on the former "Society to Aid War Academy Students," which had been formed in 1965 to protect the rights of students expelled from the War Academies:

"Later in conjunction with the seizure of influence within the association of those identified with the Pan-Turanian ideal, the Turkist-Pan-Turanian conflict was engaged beyond the founding goal. The Federation of Free Thought Clubs, headquartered in Ankara, was founded on 30 November 1967 for the purpose of exalting the fatherland and the nation, and a total of 37 provincial branches of this federation was opened and put into action, with the parent ones in Istanbul and Izmir."

#### Indictment Explores NAP Tactics

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 10 May 81 pp 1, 5, 7

[Text] Communist Slogans on Factories, Banks, Luxury Hotels

Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- The indictment refers to a report entitled "Training Secretariat's Requests" which was found at NAP Headquarters and quotes certain passages from this report. The indictment notes that the training secretariat requested that organization members send reports to leftist newspapers such as the DEMOKRAT and AYDINLIK saying, "Progressives raided in X location, revolutionaries forced to flee." The following portion of the report is quoted:

"Write the following slogans as indicated to keep security forces from bothering us: 'Fascist Army Will Be Called to Account -- TPLP-F [Turkish Peoples Liberation Party Front]' on the walls of or near the gendarmerie station, 'MIT [National Intelligence Organization] Will Be Called to Account -- TPLP-F' and 'We Avenged Kizil Dore -- TPLP-F' on the walls of or somewhere near Government House. It is necessary that no one know about this except one person or the one assigned.

"Aside from this, write the names of military commanders of rightist persuasion in the same region, saying that they will be called to account and add the signatures TCP-ML [Turkish Communist Party-Marxist Leninist], TWPLA [Turkish Worker-Peasant Liberation Army] or TPLP-F; write the above slogans on one-sixth of a sheet of duplication paper, that is, divide the paper into six pieces and write by hand (if there is a communist cell active in the region, use its signature, that is, write the name of one cell) and distribute them in the areas mentioned on the same

day that the wall writing is done; this plan should be implemented only once, acting after carefully assessing the time and place; the preparations should be made by a person from outside the area in which the organization is located, with the car used for distribution driven by the same person; no evidence should be left behind of all these endeavors, even the pen and other supplies used should be disposed of.

"Communist slogans (Down with the Comprador-Boss-Landlord Order) should be written on the walls and windows of factories, banks and luxury hotels and written by hand on small pieces of paper to be distributed in those areas, with attention to the above principles of secrecy in this also."

#### Garages PTT, Terminals Must Be Under Our Control

Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- The indictment also speaks of the "Organization Reports" found at NAP Headquarters. The following excerpts from the part entitled "Views and Thoughts" from among these reports appear in the indictment:

--Retribution for those martyred in one province should be accomplished in another province.

--Even though we are a legal organization, we have been forced to be illegal. The administrator and his associates should not be involved personally in the national struggle. We should eliminate this.

--Appointments of communists should be confirmed and reported to us.

--Garages, the PTT [Post, Telegraph and Telephone Administration] and terminals should be under our control.

#### Infiltration of Army Called For

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 10 May 81 pp 1, 5

[Text] Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- The section of the indictment concerned with organizational efforts cites as follows, in part, the paper entitled "Special Notes" which was seized at NAP Headquarters:

"It is possible and necessary to make extensive use of the armed Forces. There is great interest among businessmen or capital circles. They are saying, 'It is Turkes' men who protect us.' As for Istanbul, it is most advantageous and imperative to hold special meetings with certain important people (of all classes). Obviously, with expressions such as 'Those who don't know us are afraid of us,' the party is trying to appear as the protector of businessmen and capital circles and, by thus introducing itself to replace the armed force of the state and taking advantage of the facilities which this thought and image create, intends to obtain and strengthen material support as well as moral support."

### Defendants' NAP Roles Outlined

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 9 May 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] Ankara (TURKISH NEWS AGENCY) -- The indictment in the trial at Military Court No 1 of the NAP general chairman and other administrators opened by the Ankara Martial Law Command Office of the Military Prosecutor states as follows the action - defendant relationships of the General Executive Board members:

"Agah Oktay Guner, the defendant who is a member of the party's General Executive Board and Deputy General Chairman, attended and addressed meetings of the Idealist Associations which became NAP affiliates.

"Sadi Somuncuoglu was employed in the Office of the Deputy NAP General Chairman and provided monetary resources to the aforementioned armed cabal. In a search of his home, a list was found which contained the names of teaching members of certain faculties, divided as to positive, negative and Kurdish. It is understood that he said on 1 April 1979 at the workplace where Mehmet Ucar and his friends were employed that it was necessary that the government fall and that the Automobile Makers' decision to turn off the engines be applied and was responsible for carnage by saying, 'Strike a leftist whoever he may be in order to start a confrontation.'

"Ahmet Er, as Deputy General Chairman for NAP Youth Chapters, is identified as among the cabal and just as he was among those who encouraged carnage by making provocative speeches, he also collected intelligence reports on the carnage.

"Necati Gultekin, the defendant who was General Secretary of the party, was active within the cabal, worked with the Idealist Associations and their local organizations which were the element for realization of carnage, assisted Idealists who had committed crimes and hid their contraband and personal belongings. /(The letter and documents concerned with Ethem Kiskis were found in his office.)/ [in bold-face] He hid the criminal effects of the cabal, was connected with the establishment of camps for the indoctrination of militants into the cabal, was Turkes' assistant in the establishment of Idealist Associations and the NAP organization abroad and provided financial support to the Idealist Associations for the provisioning of idealist militants in prison.

"Yasar Okuyan, the defendant who was Deputy General Secretary of the party, was among the active elements of the cabal and was closest to Alpaslan Turkes in illegal activities. He received his salary from Turkes, provided indoctrination of Idealist militants according to the written document 'On Secrecy, Raids and Betrayal' which he prepared and which was found in his office, contributed financially to the cabal with income obtained from the sale of skins of sacrificed animals and promoted the activities of the trainers employed in coordination between the party and the Idealist Associations, transferring funds to them.

"Nevzat Kosoglu, the defendant who served as Deputy General Secretary within the party, assisted Necati Gultekin and Alpaslan Turkes in the collection and evaluation of the organization reports which were obtained in the search of NAP Headquarters and which contained cabal activities.

"Ali Gurbaz served as NAP Deputy General Secretary and was assistant to the General Secretary and General Chairman Turkes as archivist of the documents collected at party headquarters which showed the illegal activities in organizing.

"Mehmet Irmak was a member of the party's General Executive Board and Legal Bureau Chief. He worked with and was superior to the legal offices of the Idealist Associations. His duties were to retain lawyers for Idealist militants in prison, ensure that preparations were made, follow up cases and collect all reports on these efforts and have made and catalogue lists of Idealist militants jailed throughout the country. In the search of NAP Headquarters an unlicensed gun was found in his office. He provided monetary support to the bank account opened in Turkes' name for construction of the Idealist Association building.

"Tahsin Unal, the defendant who was a member of the NAP Headquarters General Executive Board, was the assistant for organization in the conduct of cabal activities, establishing NAP organizations and Idealist Associations, in the arming of the entire organization and in the provision of reports on organizations and individuals characterized as communist.

"Avni Carsancakli, the defendant who served as a member of the NAP Executive Board, is an active element of the cabal. He assisted imprisoned Idealist militants, gave bribes to rescue Idealist militants and have their evidence blocked, gave false testimony, attended Idealist union and association meetings and appointed entrepreneurial delegations. He collected monetary assistance by opening a joint bank account with Salih Dilek and Abdurrahman Oncel for the purpose of obtaining the social security of Idealist militants who died in armed clashes and those who were arrested, and incited and encouraged carnage.

"Taha Akyol, the defendant who was a member of the NAP Executive Board, attended and addressed Idealist Association congresses, gave seminars to train militants and provided financial support by depositing money in the account opened in Turkes' name for construction of the Idealist Association buildings.

"Mehmet Dogan is general accountant of the party, made illegal expenditures of every sort by Alpaslan Turkes' order for organization and ways and means and obtained material resources. In the searches, two unlicensed guns and foreign exchange were found in the safe for which he was responsible. Once in 1977 he gave 75,000 Turkish liras to IYA [Idealist Youth Association] President Muhsin Yazicioglu and also provided financial support to the organization by transferring funds to Ramiz Ongun, Turkmen Onur and Lokman Abbasoglu, trainers who conducted the coordination of illegal activities between the Idealist Associations and the party.

"Ahmet Hamdi Ayan, the defendant who was a member of the NAP Executive Board, worked with the Idealist Associations, served as an agent in the illegal endeavors of the associations and ferreted out those who were passing information on association activities to the police and contributed to organizational activities.

"Cengiz Gokcek, the defendant who was a member of the NAP Executive Board, ensured the conduct of training in connection with military training and weaponry marksmanship courses at the training camp set up near Erikci Village, Gaziantep, in 1969-1970 for indoctrination of Idealist militants.

"Turhan Kocal, Ihsan Kabadayi, Serafettin Dogan, defendants who were also on the party's executive board, were found to have taken their places within the organization by securing material resources for the bank account opened in Turkes' name for construction of Idealist associations building.

"Suleyman Surmen, defendant who was a member of the NAP Supreme Discipline Board, attended and addressed Idealist Association congresses.

"Seyit Ahmet Arvasi, Sait Bilgic, Servet Bora, Osman Albayrak, Mehmet Yusuf Ozbas, Ismet Kapusuz, Ali Fuat Eyupoglu, Mehmet Tahir Sasmaz, Lutfu Ulkumen, Faruk Demirtola, Mehmet Voyvoda Develioglu, Osman Ortekin, Ozcan Ergindiren, Vacit Akkor, Salih M. Dilek, Mimir Koseoglu, Necdet Sarman, defendants who were members of the NAP Executive Board, by supporting in all matters General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes who encouraged and directed mass murder through the orderly and organized cabal which was formed by taking refuge in the power which the law invests in a political party and then dividing the Turkish population as to 'idealist' and 'communist' and by forming the general headquarters of the rightist flank which was directed from the single center, participated in this crime and were influential in the outcome."

#### Turkes Notes Used As Evidence

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 7 May 81 p 7

[Text] Ankara, Anatolian Agency -- The indictment of NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes and 586 defendants prepared by the Ankara Martial Law Command Office of the Military Prosecutor states that 600,000 liras was given to Mehmet Irmak by former parliamentarians in order to be paid to defense attorneys in the trial related to the Kahramanmaraş incidents and says: "This is tangible proof that they identified with the persons who were tried, therefore demonstrating the unity, cohesion and solidarity among them."

#### Notes

The section of the indictment on the NAP and which contains notes reportedly Turkes' handwritten notes follows:

"Excerpted verbatim below are the notes headed 'Provincial chairmen's meeting 11 November 1979' which were identified by an expert as the product of NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes' hand and which he refused to admit were his and would say only, 'It looks like it,' and also passages from other documents and papers in his handwriting:

"--There will be no writing on walls.

"--No urgent advantage of fear. No advantage in trying to appear tolerant of communists (Bourgeois apathy). Avoid clashes unless forced. No clashes will be engaged with the right. Turkist publications should be in old-style letters, to show as though printed in Bombay and Lahore. Martial law judges and prosecutors should be replaced. We will not close down the places we seize. Protection measures, guards, guard service.

"--Secrecy, obeying orders.

"--Compliance with decisions.

"--Old teams are still in place. Must change quickly.

"--Appointment of Commissioner Ugur Gur.

"--Illegal organization chiefs should meet.

"--Teaching Reserve Officers were intentionally appointed with the 10 who have the liberated zone and could not go because of lack of personal safety. Another 10 should be added to this 10 and their transfer there accomplished.

"--Purge MIT and other intelligence organizations of communists.

"--This job cannot go forward with Ankara Martial Law Command and command prosecutors.

"--Hiring new policemen and mistakes in reinforcement, governor and security director appointments.

"--Giving gun licenses to mayors and other administrators.

"--Taking measures concerning prosecutors.

"--Martial law judges.

"--Including nationalists in LSK and middle R. [expansions unknown] courses.

"--Security supervisor Halil Erciyes-Kozan, Prosecutor Hasan Cavit Obali should be replaced.

"Under the heading 'general executive board meeting 31 May 1980':

"--Bringing houses together.

"--Ankara Martial Law Commander should be replaced.

"--Purging Security Organization of communists.

"--Let 50 persons be given gun licenses and let us conduct protection with them.

"--Establishing martial law throughout Turkey.

"--Anarchist university graduates should not be reserve officers and should not be assigned martial law duties.

"--The Arms Office is in the hands of POL-DER [Police Association], they are giving new automatic weapons to POL-DER policemen, they gave Kirikkale pistols to the others.

"--Establishment of intelligence center necessary. Although Kahramanmaraş trial judges submitted replacement, appointment petition, appointment was not made. K.D.X. [expansion not known] should be appointment judge.

"--Appointment of good security director to Adana. Antalya prosecutor, Gazipasa prosecutor should be taken. Ekrem Ceyhan, Prof Dr Adnan Saplakoglu should come to Atomic Energy Commission. Islamic institutes under domination of salvation, must prevent this.

"--Security Director Atilla Aksoy should be replaced.

"--Let Dr Celal Cizmeci Usak be appointed chief surgeon of State Hospital.

"--However, it is seen in examination of the decision records for the dates indicated that topics for which there were no details related to discussion of the matters indicated were usually entered under 'discussion of internal problems.' It derives from this as a definite conviction, not a hypothesis, that the topics which were on the agendas of the party's highest organs and were revealed above as the content of discussion in sessions on those days were concealed for the purpose of avoiding compromise of the party's appearance of legality.

"Contents of agenda notes obtained from the wooden cupboard in the lounge adjacent to Alparslan Turkes' office at the MAP Headquarters building:

"'200,000 liras given to Mehmet Ekici (Youth Chapter president) for maintenance of Idealists in prison 17 May 1978, 210,000 (only 210,000 liras were given) as July expenses to Ramiz Ongun, 28 June 1978, 210,000 liras given to Mr Ramiz Ongun for expenses of colleagues working at HERGUN newspaper. August salary 1 August 1978.

"'5,000 liras given as book money to Nihat Ulkekul. 7 August 1978, additional 25,000 liras given to Taha Akyol for printing Prof Orhan Turkdogan's book. 30 August 1978, 225,000 liras given to Ramiz Ongun for September for employees at HERGUN. 2 September, 5,000 liras given to Yilma Durak and Serdar. 2 September 1978.

"'13 May 1977 100,000 liras given to Ramiz Ongun.

"'252,000 liras given to Mr Ramiz Ongun for salaries of colleagues employed at HERGUN. 27 September 1978, 50,000 liras given to the restaurant and to Ramiz Ongun to buy food for jailed youths. 1 December 1978, 12,000 liras given to Turkmen Onur for maintenance of youths in prison.

"'45,000 liras given to Mr Turkmen for food expenses of jailed youths. 19 January 1979.'

#### Other Notes

"The organic relationship with endeavors connected with perpetrators of rightist terror especially in the prisons, with endeavors toward rendering the Idealist view influential and dominant and with the Idealist associations is tellingly revealed in concrete evidence proved to be in Alparslan Turkes' handwriting such as:

"'Justice must replace communists. Moral support, identify and report local village representatives, civil servants who are from us should not be disclosed, they are putting a great deal of pressure on shamanists. To win Nurcis,

"'Trabzon Idealist Youth Association should change, changing of judge lists.'

"In addition, statements about martial law judges and prosecutors in particular and plans pertaining to judges, prosecutors and public and security employees provide information about the views, practices and endeavors of himself as party chairman and therefore of his party.

#### Active Terror

"The sentences 'Avoid clashes unless forced' and 'No clashes will be engaged with the right' clearly reveal the significant position in active terror of Alpaslan Turkes as general chairman of the party.

"In evaluating the fact that the view 'Avoid clashes unless forced' appeared on the agenda of the provincial chairmen's meeting on 11 November 1979, [it is seen] that all provincial chairmen are ordered and authorized to engage in armed clashes with the left in all provinces even in a state of martial law when required and if necessary and that a green light is given, in plain language, for violence.

"Also, the sentence 'No clashes will be engaged with the right' reveals in such a way as to leave no room for doubt the meaning that armed struggle may be engaged at any time with the left.

"The party General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes' impact on anarchy and terror is exhibited in the contents of sentences and notes from another document also identified as being in Alpaslan Turkes' handwriting, as follows:

"'1) Duty should not be forgotten, 2) Crimes are not to be admitted, 3) Should prevent intimidation, 4) Civilized methods of struggle should be used, 5) Importance of propaganda, 6) Discipline in prisons, 7) Travel by cheapest means, 8) Weapons are not to be buried underground. Should be surrendered to police.' "It is inconceivable that the weapons referred to in the sentence 'Weapons are not to be buried underground' would be weapons for which the possibility of lawful keeping or bearing had been obtained.

"The weapons referred to in this note are weapons which the armed cabal, virtually hand in glove with the party, had obtained by unlawful means and had been used or were intended for use in violent actions also for unlawful purposes. However, it is definite that none of these weapons was later surrendered but, based on certain descriptions and concrete documents seized at party headquarters, some of them were seized in places where they had been buried or hidden.

#### Payments

"Identified by the expert as being in Alpaslan Turkes' handwriting were notes saying:

"'1. 75,000 liras given to Turkmen Onur for youths in Istanbul. 31 May 1979, 2. 600,000 liras given to Mr Mehmet Irmak for Kahramanmaraş incidents attorneys. 31 May 1979, 3. 90,000 liras given for the restaurant. 22 May 1979 Lokman, [as published] 5. 10,000 liras given to Taha Akyol for the entertainment of Mr Necip Fazil as a guest. 6. 212,000 liras given to HERGUN newspaper representatives as June salary.' These notes constitute proof of Turkes' and therefore the NAP's unlawful attitudes and connections. The abovementioned Turkmen Onur was NAP Youth

Adviser as of the date of the incident and that this person was given large sums of money without revealing where or how it was to be spent and that, in addition, a sum of money as large as 600,000 liras was given to Mehmet Irmak from former NAP parliamentarians in order to be given to the attorneys who defended the suspects tried in the case referred to as the 'Kahramanmaraş incidents' is clear proof that they identified with the persons who were tried, therefore showing the unity, cohesion and solidarity among them.

"The 90,000 liras said to have been given for the restaurant must be money paid to the Burcak Restaurant which provided two meals a day to the Idealist convicts and detainees. Expenditures related to such large sums of money for which the place where they are to be spent and reason for which they were given are or are not specified justify certain doubts as to both the source and the purpose for which they were given and constitute further proof of the party's unlawful relationships."

#### Pehlivanoglu Detailed Idealist-NAP Ties

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 11 May 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- Balgat massacre defendant Mustafa Pehlivanoglu appealed to the Ankara Martial Law Command Office of the Military Prosecutor and made certain revelations on 22 September 1980 before the death penalty ruled in his case was carried out.

The death penalty ruled in the case of Mustafa Pehlivanoglu, who was also a Mamak escape defendant, was executed on 8 October 1980.

In the investigation of the NAP conducted by the Ankara Martial Law Command Military Prosecutor's office, extensive attention was given to two separate statements which Mustafa Pehlivanoglu made to the military prosecutor. Mustafa Pehlivanoglu said that he had decided to become an Idealist in 1976, that he had attended Tai Kwan Do courses offered by the Bahcelievler Ideal Hearths and had later formed the "Library Organization" with his friends Omer Mujdeci, Hacı Bahsi, Abdurrahman Yurtsever, Ahmet Cil and Haydar Sahin. In the statements made prior to his execution, Pehlivanoglu said the following:

"There are family chieftains in the state offices. This family organization and Idealist workers are attached to the Idealist associations. They work in the state offices and report on jobs which should be done. Moreover, there are Idealists who are organized among themselves who work illegally in the areas where there are no Library organizations or Greater Idealist Society branches. Even though all these branches and organizations I mentioned appear legal, they operate illegally. And all of them are attached to the Greater Idealist Society. Orders and instructions come from the Greater Idealist Society. There are two kinds of weapons in the organization branches, both in the Library and the Greater Idealist Society branches. Personal weapons and weapons belonging to the organization; these weapons are not kept in the Ankara Hearth or at headquarters, but in the organizations. When an action is to be carried out, information is sent to the organization branch which is to carry out the action from the Ankara Hearth and the Greater Idealist Society headquarters. As the result of this information,

the branch or library which received instructions brings the weapons from the organizations in the precincts. The person who is to carry out the action comes to the Ankara Hearth or Greater Idealist Society and gets the weapon. He brings the weapon back after carrying out the action and delivers it to the Ankara Hearth or the Greater Idealist Society. But let me say on this matter that the Greater Idealist Society and the Ankara Hearth, which is subordinate to it, carry out their actions separately. And the action teams of the two organizations are composed of different people. In the actions carried out, the Ankara Hearth always reports to headquarters on the action. To make a comparison, the Greater Idealist Society is a representative organization which gives orders and directives and the Ankara Hearth is a strike force and executive organ attached to this Greater Idealist Society. The libraries, families and other Idealist Association branches all report to headquarters on actions undertaken, social structure of precincts, organization houses, arms and the struggle against communists. There are meetings every week at the chief level at the Ankara Hearth and the Greater Idealist Society headquarters. Oral reports are given at these meetings."

Pehlivanoglu's statement is included in the indictment along with these later sentences: "We have no liaison with the NAP because we are at a lower level. But there is direct contact and coordination between the NAP and both Greater Idealist Society Headquarters and the Ankara Hearth... Isa Armagan was the one who organized us in actions and obtained weapons."

Mustafa Pehlivanoglu also explained the actions in which he participated and the Balgat massacre and then answered questions about the prison escape. In this part of his statement, Pehlivanoglu gave enlightening information about Assistant Professor Orhan Yavuz who was killed in Erzurum and how he was killed. Pehlivanoglu spoke as follows:

"Bekir Kum (I learned that his real name is Cezair Baysal), whom I mentioned before in connection with the prison escape incident and who hid me in Ekişehir, admitted to me in the house where I was hiding in Kutahya, I said Ekişehir by mistake, that he was involved in the murder incident of an assistant professor who was killed at Ataturk University around 1978 or 1977 and also that some of the Ankara CTLO (Army for the Liberation of Enslaved Turks) members had also been hidden in his house. As a result of Cezair Baysal's identity's being revealed when these Ankara CTLOists were arrested in Erzurum, he explained that he escaped from Erzurum and was sent to Kutahya by headquarters and was the principal officer of the organization here, that is, in Kutahya, participating in many murder, injury and house-shooting incidents here. This person was hidden in the home of the former Security Director in Kutahya. He was exposed because the Security Director abused his job."

Pehlivanoglu's statement then continues as follows, in part:

"Sevket Cetin and Muhsin Yazicioglu are the persons who directed IYA actions (such as murder, injury, shooting, bombing, etc.). They have definite links with the NAP. Actually, the IYA's are NAP affiliates which serve as a front. They work together and in consultation with the NAP and its affiliates... I established contact with Sevket Cetin after the escape incident. More correctly, he came and found me. I had no contact with Muhsin Yazicioglu... After working a while in the Karapinar Library Chapter, I, Isa Armagan, Haydar Sahin, Ismail Koksai, Mehmet Varlik, Sabahattin Bayrak, Ramzi Agacbekler and Fehmi Kandemir were separated from the library presidency and placed completely at the disposal of Abdullah Catli at

headquarters. We all illegally carried out murder and injury actions under the orders of this person. Abdullah Catli established contact with Isa Armagan and gave him instructions. Both Sevkət Cetin and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu hid friends who carried out actions...

"He was asked (as published): I have no information on the TVB [Turkish Revenge Brigade]. I do not know what degree of contact this organization has with the NAP and Idealist associations. I told you about CTLO. The head of this organization is Mehmet Muti and Necmi İğoren...

"According to what my friends in prison said, organizations such as CTLO, TVB and TCAHL [Turkish Islamist Commando Army] appeared during martial law and were used by Headquarters as covernames for Headquarters during interrogations because so many right-wing organization militants were arrested... The organizations are all organizations which Headquarters invented for the purpose of concealing itself."

Pehlivanoglu is quoted later in the indictment as saying that Ercument Gedikli, who was involved in the Bahcelievler massacre in which seven Turkish Labor Party members were killed, was turned over by his father, who is a colonel, and after that he became close with Isa Armagan at Mamak Prison and he explained that because E. Gedikli and Turan Demirkan were held responsible for the Bahcelievler massacre, they were worried that Headquarters would have them killed and said that going to prison had saved their lives.

Pehlivanoglu explained that Abdullah Catli, Sevkət Cetin and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu had attended a meeting at NAP Headquarters and said they had come to the Karapınar Library with police driver Mustafa and several other policemen from the riot branch. "We went with these policemen to search the homes of people in the precinct whom we described as communists. These policemen gave us the weapons which were seized in the searches we made," he said.

Mustafa Pehlivanoglu made the new revelations in a petition made through his attorney Seyfi Seyhan on 7 October 1980, that is, one day before his execution.

#### Turkes Bank Account Disclosed

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 11 May 81 pp 1, 7

Ankara (ANATOLIAN AGENCY) — The military prosecution's indictment in the NAP trial says that "Alpaslan Turkes had a total income of 3,300,667 liras in the 1970-1980 period, but, in contrast, spent a total of at least 19,861,496 liras during this time."

The military prosecution's indictment notes that "Alpaslan Turkes now has deposits of 20,343,509 liras in Turkish banks."

An expert report which the Ankara Martial Law Command Office of the Military Prosecutor had prepared on Alpaslan Turkes' assets and income and expenditures for the 1975-1980 period was placed in the indictment.

According to the expert's report dated 27 Mar 1981, Turkes' assets and income and expenditures for the past 5 years are as follows:

"--The NAP Headquarters building at no 43 Third Avenue, Bahcelievler, Ankara, was largely built with money collected from association administrators and the deed is registered in Alpaslan Turkes' name.

"--Two office buildings in Izmir used as NAP provincial offices are deeded in Turkes' name.

"--Eight office buildings in Serencebey Heights in Besiktas, Istanbul, were purchased with money collected with the contribution of Mehmet Sandir and the deeds are registered in Alpaslan Turkes' name.

"--In addition to this real estate, other properties understood to be deeded in Alpaslan Turkes' name are a villa in Yakacik, a lot in Uskudar, Istanbul, a summerhouse in Gumuldar, Istanbul, a lot in Bandirma, a field in Gelibolu, a store in Gebze, a building in Ekişehir and a lot and two office buildings in Ankara.

"As stated in section 9/1/3/1/1 of the report, it is seen that Alpaslan Turkes now has deposits of 20,343,509 liras in Turkish banks.

"As pointed out in section 9/1/5 of the expert report, Alpaslan Turkes has four automobiles.

"It is understood that Alpaslan Turkes owns shares worth 50,000 liras in Karınca Yem Industry Incorporated, 50,000 liras in Matbaa ve Gazetecilik Incorporated and 2.537 million liras in HERGUN Newspaper Incorporated.

"It is seen that in the 1975-1980 period Alpaslan Turkes' legal income resources were retirement pension, national deputy salary and publication income, that he obtained a total income of 3,300,667 liras consisting of 690,658 liras in retirement pension, 2,110,355 liras in national deputy salary and 502,654 liras in publishing income, but in contrast, had total expenditures of at least 19,861,496 liras."

#### NAP European Organizations, Periodicals Listed

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 8 May 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- The NAP investigation revealed that the NAP has 129 affiliates in Europe. It also found that 34 newspapers and magazines at home and abroad publish the NAP line.

According to information obtained, the number of associations attached to the Federation of European Democratic Idealist Associations, known for short as the Turkish Federation, reached 129 with the 25 new ones formed in 1980. Associations attached to the Turkish Federation, which was formed in 1978, were found to be 87 in Germany, 7 in Belgium, 6 in the Netherlands, 3 in France, 1 in Austria and 1 in Switzerland. It was pointed out that these Idealist Associations disseminated the Nationalist-Idealist view in areas where Turkish workers were concentrated and intended to form a political power by indoctrinating workers abroad in the Idealist view line. The Idealist Associations reportedly engaged in various penetration activities against non-Idealist associations in Europe.

The names of the newspapers and magazines publishing the NAP line are listed as follows:

"HERGUN -- daily newspaper, DEVLET -- monthly magazine, GENC ARKADAS -- monthly magazine, TORE -- monthly magazine, BOZKURT -- monthly magazine, OCAK -- quarterly magazine, YESIL BURSA -- quarterly magazine, TURKIYE VE DUNYA -- quarterly magazine, YIGIT KOYLUM -- monthly magazine, MILLI HAREKET -- monthly opinion and trade journal, TOPRAK -- monthly magazine, VATANA HASRET -- weekly newspaper, OLAY -- weekly newspaper, ULKU OCAGI -- biweekly newspaper, MESALE -- biweekly newspaper, TURK SESI -- daily newspaper, HAMLE -- daily newspaper, BIZIM GUNES -- monthly magazine, AGANIN SESI -- monthly magazine, YILDIRIM -- biweekly newspaper, DOGUS -- newspaper, TURAN -- weekly newspaper, BIRLIGE CAGRI -- weekly newspaper, SANCAR -- biweekly newspaper, MILLI CAGRI -- biweekly newspaper, MILLI DEVLET -- biweekly newspaper, TARIH DEVIR -- biweekly newspaper, KARMAN -- monthly newspaper, KUTSAL ONUR -- monthly magazine, BATTAL GAZI -- monthly newspaper, ZAFER ISLAMIN -- monthly newspaper, HAKIKAT -- daily newspaper, MILLI IKTISAT -- quarterly economic and research journal."

#### New Magazine Out

The indictment prepared by the Ankara Martial Law Command Office of the Military Prosecutor states that Avni Ozyurek brought out a weekly magazine named YENI SOZCU when these magazines and newspapers were shut down after 12 September. The indictment says concerning YENI SOZCU that it "undertook to inspire new morale in the followers of the Idealist view, which had begun to deteriorate and recede after 12 September."

#### NAP International Contacts Studied

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 10 May 81 pp 1, 7

Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- During investigation preparatory to the NAP indictment prepared by the Ankara Martial Law Command Office of the Military Prosecutor, the conclusion was reached in evaluation of a letter written by Alpaalan Turkes that the "NAP General Chairman aspired to a fascist dictatorship based on the brute force of the state."

Documents seized in searches conducted since the 12 September operation at NAP Headquarters, Youth Chapter Headquarters and provincial and district organizations were evaluated individually. It was determined that evidence obtained as a result of the investigation and the testimony of defendants and witnesses indicate that "within the appearance of legality, the NAP and its affiliated organizations formed a centralized, organized and totalitarian society at the national level, armed the Turkish people against one another and encouraged and directed mass murders in an attempt to change the constitutional order by force for the purpose of having the state governed by one individual in violation of the principles of Republicanism and Democracy."

It was revealed in the investigation that at the NAP Headquarters, General Chairman Alpaalan Turkes received monetary assistance from fascist-leaning persons and organizations in the United States and was in communication with the American National Fascist Party administrators.

The synopsis made in this regard follows:

"A total of 15 American Express Money Orders drawn on the San Diego Savings and Trust Bank, which represented aid and cooperation, albeit symbolic, and which were sent in the name of NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes were confiscated in the searches conducted at the Party Headquarters building, and it is seen that the said aid was mailed from California by Walter Jacob Pfersich Jr, that an envelope mailed to Alpaslan Turkes by this same person contained a signed picture and his card and that, in addition to this person's name, the words 'Fascist National Party' appeared on the card in four different languages. It is understood from a letter dated 15 December 1980 from the State Department in response to our letter asking to be given detailed information on this person that detailed information was given on his physical characteristics but that no further information could be obtained because his date of birth was not known...

"It is determined from the card belonging to the person who is understood from the said reply to be a real person and who contributed monetary aid, albeit symbolic, to the NAP that he is an administrator of the National Fascist Party in America and that a link as to philosophical similarity and parallelism was formed between the administrator of a fascist party and the NAP."

#### Contact with Idealists Manual

In evaluations of organizations abroad, the investigation identified 240 associations in West Germany. The investigation also makes the following reference to a letter written by NAP Deputy General Secretary Necati Cultekin about the Contact with Idealists Abroad Manual:

"The sentence, 'I cannot send the contact with idealists abroad manual to all members because we do not have enough of them,' from the letter dated 24 December 1975 and signed by Necati Cultekin and the Contact with Idealists Abroad Manual prepared by the NAP Headquarters for the purpose of arranging this link constitute concrete evidence of collaboration and cooperation. Article 4, headed 'General Principles,' of the said manual: 'The positions of chairman and representative are filled by election by Turkish citizens who are registered members of the NAP in the regions where they are located; chief inspectors are appointed by NAP Headquarters,' and article 11-f: 'Ensure that membership dues are forwarded in full and on time to headquarters,' are strong and incontrovertible proof of our contention and view."

#### Get MIT's Attention

Some of the letters sent to NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes from Paris by the general inspector for Germany, Enver Altayli, also appear among the investigation topics. Letters and reports which begin with the salutation, "My dear and respected Colonel," follow:

"...Because of a false television broadcast, we acted on the rights granted us by law and appealed to the ARD [Working Association of the Statutory Broadcasting Corporations of the Federal Republic of Germany] through our attorney, Bruno Imdahl, JD, proclaiming the report false. WDR (ARD) was not brought to court on the case until today. The application to WDR (ARD) was made in the name of the

NAP Headquarters, Bahcelievler, Ankara. That is, no mention was made of either myself or of the NAP European organization in the letter written to WDR in connection with the report which our attorney requested in most polite terms be corrected. Essentially what stirred up those in radio and television anyway is their understanding that you acted directly."

#### A Report

"...but all that can be done at the moment is to have some positive things about us written and broadcast in certain newspapers and, although it is very difficult, on television. He will do everything he can in this regard. The books you sent will also be a great help in this work. We are now preparing a brochure to be printed in 2,000 copies. Dr Kannapin will write it himself. He has settled on part of the contents and we will do the rest in meetings we are to have in the next few days... Dr Kannapin will come to Cologne on 4 May 1976 and will introduce me here to the chief of the Turkish desk at the German domestic intelligence organization. According to information which Dr Kannapin gave, this person is a CDU (Christian Democrat) and a former German officer. Understandably anti-communist... I asked Dr Kannapin why it is that we can be written of so negatively. I repeat verbatim what he said: 'What information ours have in this regard, they get from the MIT. It is necessary to get the MIT's ear, not ours, in this regard. If the MIT gives true information, if they say it is not like this, then ours will write the truth.'

"...The anticommunist effort among Turks in Europe is being conducted by us, that is, the NAP... The CDU-CSU will certainly have to extend their hands to the NAP one day."

#### Constitutional Court Warning

The evaluation of the Germany Chief Inspector's having been shown as removed from his job following the Constitutional Court's warning because of the NAP's organizing abroad follows:

"Below is a letter written by Deputy Prime Minister and NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes to General Inspector Enver Altayli, quoted verbatim because it constitutes evidence in relation to the basic intent in this regard of the party and the decision:

"'22 July 1976. Dear Enver Altayli, You know that our enemies and political rivals, who are alarmed by the mushrooming growth of our Idealist movement and of the NAP which is its political organization, have launched an intricate legal campaign to replace the games they lost with the public.

"'It is our duty to be concerned with every Turk, wherever he may be in the world, and to consider his problems as our own. For this reason, wherever there are Turks, whether Turks in Turkey, Turks in captivity or Turks in foreign countries working to earn a living and help their country by selling their labor, we are and will be concerned with all of them. This is not only our duty as Turks, but also our responsibility as a political party... With the decision they have taken, the legal assassins have murdered the law.'

"The following passage taken from another letter dated 22 July 1976 written to Enver Altayli by Alpaslan Turkes is quoted verbatim from the standpoint of showing the relationship between NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes and Germany General Inspector Enver Altayli:

"I know that the work you are doing takes all your time and leaves you no opportunity to work in a separate occupation. The essential thing is that you continue your activities, which are very beneficial to our cause, without reaching the point of being unable to work because of financial straits. For this reason, you may draw up to DM 2,000 per month from my personal account at Cologne Bfg (as published) to provide you a means of subsistence. I wish you success and present my greetings and respect."

#### 100,000 Marks for Proper Attitude

The following information appears in a letter sent to Alpaslan Turkes by Serdar Celebi, who became chairman of the Turkish Federation after Lokman Kodakci as mentioned in the investigation:

"My dear Commander-in-Chief, As you know, there are Islamic Cultural Centers in Germany as an extension of the Koran courses in Turkey. This organization is attached to Mr Kemal Kacar in Turkey. The head of them here is Harun Resit Toyluoglu under Rize Cayeli. Our friends make up 70 percent of the members of this organization. We are tolerant of this situation because they are serving in the way of Allah and have the opportunity to learn the Holy Koran. But I see that our situation is exploited from time to time and even that our friends are being taken advantage of especially from the material aspect. I believe it is necessary that a situation such as to be advantageous to our cause be created and that this be resolved in the healthiest fashion possible. I thought first that qualified men of religion should be brought to Germany to eliminate this situation which is being felt in a real way and that until this could be done, I would make certain requests of them. So on 28 June 1979, I talked with Mr Harun Resit. I told him in the nicest way possible that we needed 100,000 marks. He said that they were always willing to help but they had no money at the moment. At the same time he requested that this matter be forwarded without fail to Mr Kemal Kacar. He said, 'If Mr Kemal says, "Let this need be answered," we will do what we can and give what we can find immediately.' If my esteemed Commander-in-Chief finds it agreeable and would telephone Mr Kemal and say, 'Let this need of our friend in Germany be taken care of,' I think it would be settled."

#### Proof of Links

It was pointed out in the investigation that it could not be determined for what purpose the 100,000 marks would be used, but that they were engaged in endeavors abroad which required large sums of money. The distribution of the marks is explained as follows in a document identified as being in Alpaslan Turkes' handwriting [in the investigation report]:

"Obtained from E. Altayli account, Deutschebank, DM 225,000 [and] DM 77,000. DM 13,000 more arrived. DM 9,000 invested in printing plates. Also, DM 7,500 given to Mr S. Haric, DM 5,000 paid to Mr Sahir also for the newspaper.' These details do not make clear the power of disposal which can be measured in hundreds of thousands of marks, for what purpose the remainder was spent outside the total of DM 14,000 spent for the newspaper and from whom and for what purpose this money was obtained, and all these remain doubtful. However, obtaining money in this

amount in violation of the laws, constitutes concrete proof of illegal relationships and endeavors."

It was pointed out in the investigation that the Idealists' conduct of propaganda and fund-raising campaigns by means of these organizations is firm and the following evaluation appears:

#### Every Mark a Bullet

"A long article was published in connection with the unlawful actions of the Idealists in Germany under the headline 'Gray Wolves -- Every Mark a Bullet' in issue no 37, dated 8 September 1980, of DER SPEIGEL. It is seen from this article that the interpretation being made in West Germany is that groups which are each other's political enemies are engaged in a mutual war of religious wrath, that the worst of it is conducted by the radical, right-wing Gray Wolves, that they suck the guest workers into anarchy by threats and extortion and that this underground war is being financed by the narcotics and arms trade. Still in the same letter, we read that in West Germany the Idealists use the slogan 'All Turks are an army -- If our blood is shed, the victory is ours' and, in addition to this, they use the slogan 'Every mark is a bullet shot at the head of the communists' when soliciting aid."

#### NAP Financial Dealings Explored

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 12 May 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] Ankara (CUMHURIYET BUREAU) -- An accounting office was formed, it was found, to handle the financial problems of the illegal NAP affiliates such as the IYA and the IWA and to organize the work in this area.

The NAP indictment speaks of "the problems of the Headquarters accounting office" from a report identified as coming from the personal notes of IWA General Accountant Mustafa Deryal which stresses the need "to orient efforts toward the future of Turkey in general: To form trusts to cover Turkey like a net, incorporating in the commercial area in particular."

The report continues: "Moreover, possibilities which will come about in the administration of the nationalist movement in the near future will increase the returns possible. At least the groundwork for this will have been prepared. It behooves Headquarters, and the accounting office in particular, at least to organize such an effort."

The report also says, "Revenues which will at least cover the urgent and fixed needs of our Headquarters will be obtained," and lists them as follows:

"Our accountants who conduct fund-raising affairs under the Ankara Hearth and in the wards should undergo a course of training and no one except them should be allowed to solicit funds.

"--Fundraising in specific regions (the Complexes, Iskitler, jewelers, manufacturers, etc.) should be conducted centrally and brought under a single name. Other affiliates and wards definitely should not be included with these places. There are five Idealist business establishments in the Complexes. These establishments have considerable resources. Certainly this problem must be resolved. In Iskitler, meanwhile, we are dominant and business is good, and it should be

possible to collect at least 1 million liras per month if a good organization is set up.

"--The status of the periodicals, booksellers and social activities (Sohret) which have long been a source of income for Headquarters should be reviewed, the periodical account at least should be turned over to general accounting, a percentage should be taken from the nights when Sohret is held and a percentage should also be taken from the booksellers.

"Small businesses should be opened in the wards where we are dominant in Ankara (tea stands, restaurants, street vendors, fruit and vegetable stalls, etc.)

"--Legal office expenses should be covered by the party accountant and other affiliates, the financial burden definitely being taken out of Headquarters.

"--A move should be made to take advantage of those who operate bars, pavillions and cafes by taking a definite stance against wildcatters."

IAP Headquarters is shown as the address in the last section of the report and a series of proposals "for incorporation" is given. The proposals are:

"--Open a furniture store, as proposed by our Idealist business friends in the Complexes, and make its deliveries if necessary.

"--We can buy rugs over the long term from Isparta and Kayseri. We have friends who will work on our behalf.

"--Our organizations in the East are engaged in dialogue with the animal-raising tribes in Erzincan. They can be used for cheesemaking.

"--The olive trade can be conducted in the Aegean region.

"--The Confederation of Nationalist Labor Unions has many factories. The dealerships of these factories and the marketing of the goods they produce can be obtained."

Another document, consisting of one typewritten page and headed "Our Thoughts and Proposals," lists the following areas of financial resources:

"--Above all, as we pointed out in the first section, our branch administrators must be dedicated and carry out the orders they are given.

"--Wealthy businessmen should be identified and it should be learned through whose channels they will be approached (by the Branch Chief), taking the donation route as Headquarters.

"--Our branches should be incorporated with the support of Headquarters.

"--Identify the processed goods or foodstuffs grown in the regions or obtained from outside and solicit them as donations.

"--Headquarters should be informed of forthcoming contracts and the contracts assessed.

--Collection of Ramazan alms, alms for the poor and skins of sacrificial animals should begin now.

--Situations in which we can take advantage of the ministries.

--Set up new commercial institutes for the receipt of donations in Germany especially for this period.

--Send processed goods abroad through business channels.

--Establish good relations with high-level administrators in order to take advantage of their circles (teaching members, etc.)."

A paper headed "Sacrifice Skins Organization Report," signed by Vecdet Sendil and Ali Aydogan shows activities in the collection of the skins of sacrificed animals, a source of income for the IYA and IWA. This paper says, in part: "Our efforts in this regard began with a circular which we sent to the branches one month before Bayram... We began sending out agents only 3 days before Bayram because the authorization from the party was late. Almost 100 agents were sent to the provinces and districts... Attempts were also made to eliminate difficulties caused our party members by security and martial law."

#### MIT Documents in Turkes' Possession

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 13 May 81 pp 1, 7

[text] Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- It is stated in the NAP indictment that "top secret" documents supposed to be in the state archives were found in NAP General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes' office. The indictment says the following in connection with the documents which were found:

"Said documents, which are confidential and bear the degree of secrecy relevant to MIT, which were delivered by hand to Alpaslan Turkes in the capacity of Deputy Prime Minister and which were seized at the NAP Headquarters building, since they contain very detailed information which must be top secret in connection with personnel assigned at every level in the MIT, could permit of no further exposure in view of our responsibility and we have been content to mention only the irregularity involved in their seizure in the general headquarters building of a party because of the information they contain, the form of address and the introductory passages.

"The most important of the thousands of official documents seized in the office belonging to General Chairman Alpaslan Turkes at the Headquarters building were arranged in four separate files. It is seen that among these documents were found the originals of letters which Alpaslan Turkes had written during the time in which he served as Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister to the offices of the President of the Republic, the Chief of the General Staff and the Force Commanders and to various ministries and that, in addition, there were secret and important documents which had been sent to him owing to his position at that time by state agencies at the highest level. Almost all of these papers are designated top secret. In addition to these, originals and photocopies of letters sent to

both the Ministry of State and other organizations by the National Intelligence Organization were confiscated, in addition to which were identified unapproved copies of reports which the MIT had given and a special report given in connection with the agendas of certain meetings which the MIT held and the topics discussed at the meetings.

"For a political party to take possession of these 'top secret' documents belonging to the public service which forms the State Archives and to take them from the places where they belong and file and conceal them at party headquarters constitutes a very telling example of the importance which the party ascribes in its work and structure to intelligence.

"An unsigned letter found in the lounge part of Alpaslan Turkes' office at the party headquarters building which begins with the salutation "My Exalted Commander-in-Chief" is quoted verbatim in our indictment for the purpose of exposing his link with prison escapees:

"My Exalted Commander-in-Chief, 1. I established communications with the investigation officer by means of a club member, and by threatening his home got my escape aid. 2. I gave money and bribes to policemen and police supervisors before and after the detention period and spent almost 500,000 liras. Mr Kenan covered 300,000. We have good relations with Security and the MIT. They have people who are very amenable to drinking and entertainment. We are considered to have obtained them also in that regard. They think I am rich and a leader of the right and want me to guarantee their lives. I set the condition that our escapes be free. I promised them a lot of money, there is no one to help in this business but Mr Kemal, everyone thinks of his well-being.

"There is nothing which the police cannot be got to do, but it is necessary that the municipality and bureaucrats take their places fully at the side of Mr Kenan."

#### Erdem Senocak Was Graduated While Wanted

"In addition to this, as an example of the influence in the educational institutions of the proponents of the Idealist view, it was considered suitable that the graduation papers from the Eskisehir Training Institute of Erdem Senocak, a member of the Idealist Youth Association Executive Board, be explained.

"It is understood from the documents in the dossier and from the testimony of the defendant that a special team had been sent to Eskisehir to arrest Erdem Senocak, who had been identified as instrumental in the escape from prison of Mustafa Pehlivanoglu and Isa Armagan and who, it had been learned, would be taking his final examinations in Eskisehir, and that Senocak left Eskisehir without taking his examinations when he learned that he was wanted and, although he did not take his final examinations, he was graduated from the school and a diploma was issued in his name. When all the written examination papers were brought from the training institute later as the investigation intensified, it was seen that the defendant had taken a total of 21 written examinations, but only six of these examination papers were in the defendant's handwriting and the remaining 15 written exam papers were positively identified by the expert as being in writing not that of the defendant."

### Idealists Involved in Agca Escape

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 16 May 81 pp 1, 7

[Text] Ankara (CUMHURİYET BUREAU) -- Mehmet Ali Agca went to Ankara by car following his escape from the Kartal Maltepe Second Armored Brigade Military Prison, from there was taken to Malatya and crossed the border into Iran via Erzurum, it was learned. The Idealist Timur Selcuk, who was arrested in Erzurum on charges of assisting Agca's escape to Iran, said, "I am pro-NAP and an Idealist Hearth sympathizer." Meanwhile, IYA General Chairman Muhsin Yazicioglu, who is being tried on a capital offense in the NAP trial in which the death penalty is requested for Turkes and 219 NAP members, admitted in the statement he gave to the Ankara Martial Law Command Military Prosecution that he had given 100,000 liras to Timur Selcuk.

According to the information obtained, Agca stayed in Istanbul a while after his escape from prison and was brought from there to Ankara by car. He hid for about a month in a house in Aydinlikevler in Ankara. Agca was later taken from Ankara to Malatya and was hidden there. It was understood following the arrest in Ankara of a taxi driver and civil servant employed at the Land Reform Undersecretariat named Pala Niyazi that Agca was in Malatya. An operation was conducted in Malatya following the arrest of two people who "used to work with the Idealists" and who hid Agca in Ankara and certain suspects were arrested in connection with the incident.

Agca was taken to Erzurum after Malatya and crossed the border into Iran after spending one night in the home of Timur Selcuk on 1 February 1980.

The Idealist Timur Selcuk, who was arrested in connection with Agca's escape to Iran, was arrested in Erzurum on 12 March 1981 and confessed his connection with the incident. The Idealist Timur Selcuk was a student in his last year at the Agriculture Faculty of Ataturk University. In a conversation with reporters when he was arrested, Timur Selcuk, born in Igdir in 1951, explained that he met Agca through Atilla Celik, that Atilla Celik telephoned him from Istanbul around the end of January 1980 and said that he had someone he had to get into Iran and that he could help. He continued as follows:

"Atilla Celik came to Erzurum but he did not say who was going to Iran. At 0030 hours on the morning of 1 February 1980, his guest came to Erzurum in order to go to Iran by a taxi with plate no 34 and I saw him in the car. I knew this person was Mehmet Ali Agca. Atilla frightened me by telling me, 'Agca is suspicious, he has killed people who informed on him. So don't go out to go to work.' I was scared of Agca and did not leave the house. The next day, Atilla and I took Agca to a coffeehouse on the border and turned him over to a smuggler who was waiting for us."

Having given Agca a place to sleep and hidden him in his house and assisted in his crossing the border into Iran, Timur Selcuk explained that "Atilla Celik called from Istanbul after 1.5 months" and went on as follows:

"Atilla said that he had talked with Mehmet Ali Agca by telephone from Iran, that Agca wanted to come back to Turkey and asked me to help again. I told him that I had my exams and could not help because of this, and I did not help in his crossing into Turkey. Agca crossed into Turkey and I have heard that he is now in Europe. I am pro-NAP and an Idealist Hearths sympathizer."

IYA General Chairman Muhsin Yazicioglu, who is being tried on a capital offense under Turkish Penal Code article 146/1 in the NAP trial in which Alpaslan Turkes and 219 NAP members are being tried, admitted in his statement to the Ankara Martial Law Command Office of the Military Prosecutor that he gave 100,000 liras to Idealist Timur Selcuk. Yazicioglu said in his statement: "I met with Timur Selcuk and gave him the account number. Mehmet Sandir found 50,000 liras, I got 30,000 liras from my uncle, I got another 20,000 liras from Sahir Solmaz and sent it."

Meanwhile, Muhsin Yazicioglu had two sets of false identification in his possession when he was arrested and it was determined that the one in the name of "Engin Vural" had been given to him by Timur Selcuk.

The NAP indictment says with regard to Muhsin Yazicioglu that he was among the "Trainers" who sat on the Ankara Committee which directed the youth organizations and who had the closest relations with Turkes and gives the following information:

"Served as Idealist Hearths Association vice chairman in 1975, as IYA General Chairman in 1977 and again as IYA General Chairman in 1978. Sat on Ankara Committee of which Turkmen Onur was chairman and which directed youth organizations. Procured organization's monetary resources, obtained weapons with them, mechanically destroyed ballistic traces of some of them together with defendants Atilla Engur, Hasan Caglayan and Sahir Solmaz after the 12 September 1980 operation and hid them by burying. Gave monetary assistance to militants who engaged in armed actions on behalf of the organization and were fugitives, was spokesman in their concealment and surrender in necessary cases. Was among those who made the decision, following closure of the IYA, that illegal activities of the Ideal Way Association should continue at no 56 Third Avenue, Bahcelievler, Ankara, even though its general headquarters is in Nevsehir. Was found to have received 40,000 liras from NAP General Accountant Mehmet Dogan to be used in illegal endeavors.

"The defendant, who was in the trainer group, provided coordination between the NAP and Idealist organizations in the region assigned, gave seminars here and sent intelligence reports on his region to headquarters."

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June 29, 1981